

JOURNAL

OF

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY.

No. 49.—January, 1836.

I.—*Second Memoir on the Ancient Coins found at Beghrám, in the Kohistán of Kábul.* By CHARLES MASSON.

I had the pleasure last year to submit a Memoir on the coins discovered at *Beghrám*, and now beg to offer a second, containing the results of my collection of the present year from the same place: the observations which these coins suggest I shall preface by a few remarks, tending to illustrate the locality of the spot where they are found, as well as some other points connected with it.

I shall also submit, in this Memoir, the results of discoveries in other places, made during the year, so far as they refer to numismatology; in the hope to contribute to farther elucidation of the history of the countries from which I write.

The *dasht* or plain of *Beghrám* bears N. 15 E. from the modern city of *Kábul*, distant by computation eighteen ordinary kos; and as the line of road has few sinuosities or deflections, the direct distance may probably be about twenty-five British miles. It is situated at the south-east point of the level country of the *Kohistán*, in an angle formed by the approach of a lofty and extensive mountain range, radiating from the superior line of the *Caucasus* on the one side, and by the inferior range of *Síáh Koh* on the other. The former range separates the *Kohistán* from the populous valley of *Nijrow*, and the latter, commencing about 15 miles east of *Kábul*, gradually sinks into the plain of *Beghrám*. East of the *Síáh Koh* is a hilly, not mountainous, tract, called *Koh Safí*, which intervenes between it and the extensive valleys of *Taghow*. Through the open space extending from west to east, between these two hill ranges, flows the river formed by the junction of the streams of

Ghorband and *Panjshír*, and which forms the northern boundary of the site of *Beghrám*. Through this space also leads the high road from the *Kohistán* to *Nijrow*, *Taghow*, *Laghmán*, and *Jelálabád*. The *dasht* of *Beghrám* is comprised in an extensive district of the *Kohistán* called *Khwojeh Keddrí*; to the north, the plain has an abrupt descent into the cultivated lands and pastures of the *Baltú Khele* and *Karindat Khán Khele* families, which at the north-western point interpose between it and the river for the extent of perhaps a mile, or until the river leaves the base of a singular eminence called *Abdullah Búrj*, which from the vast mounds on its summit was undoubtedly an appurtenance of the ancient city. East of this eminence another small space of cultivated lands, with two or three castles, called *Káráhíchí*, interposes between a curvature in the direction of the abrupt boundary of the *dasht*, and the direct course of the river; east of *Káráhíchí* rises a low detached hill, called *Koh Butcher*, which has an extent eastward of about a mile and half, intruding for that distance between the level *dasht* and the river; at the eastern extremity of *Koh Butcher* is one of those remarkable structures we call *topes*. Parallel to *Koh Butcher*, on the opposite side of the river, are the castles and cultivated lands called *Muhammad Rákhí*, and beyond them a sterile sandy tract gradually ascending to a celebrated hill and *Zeúrat*, named *Khwojeh Raig Rawán*, and thence to the superior hill range before mentioned; east of *Koh Butcher*, the level plain extends for about a mile, until the same character of abrupt termination sinks it into the low lands of *Júlghar*, where we find numerous castles, much cultivated land, and as the name *Júlghar* implies, a large extent of *chaman* or pasture. The lands of *Júlghar*, to the east, from the boundary of the *dasht* of *Beghrám*, to the south, its boundary may be considered the stream called the river of *Koh Damán*, which after flowing along the eastern portion of *Koh Damán*, and receiving what may be spared after the irrigation of the lands from the streams of *Shakr Darrah*, *Beydak*, *Tugah*, *Istalif*, &c. falls into the joint river of *Gharband* and *Panjshír* at a point below *Júlghar*. Beyond the river of *Koh Damán*, a barren sandy soil ascends to the skirts to the *Síáh Koh* and *Koh Safí*. Among the topographical features of the *dasht* of *Beghrám* may be noted three small black hills or eminences, detached from each other, which in a line, and contiguous to each other, arise from the surface of the soil a little north of the river of *Koh Damán*. To the west of *Beghrám* are the level lands of *Mahíghír*; at the north west angle of the plain is the small village of *Killah Boland*, where reside about seven Hindú traders, some of them men of large capitals; and at the south-west angle are three castles called *Killah Yezbáshí*, distant from *Killah Boland* about four miles. From *Killah Boland* to *Júlghar* a

distance occurs of four and half to five miles ; from *Júlghar* to the skirts of the *Síáh Koh*, about six miles ; from the termination of *Koh Síáh* to *Killah Yezbáshí* may be also about six miles, and from *Killah Yezbáshí* to *Killah Boland* about four miles, as just noted. The whole of the intermediate space between these points, and even beyond them to the south-east and south-west, is covered with fragments of pottery, lumps of dross iron, &c. and here are found the coins, seals, rings, &c. which so much excite our curiosity. Notwithstanding the vast numbers of such reliques discovered on this extent of plain, we have hardly any other evidence that a city once stood on it, so complete and universal has been the destruction of its buildings. But in many places, we may discover, on digging about the depth of a yard, lines of cement, which seem to denote the outlines of structures, and their apartments ; on the edge of the plain, where it abruptly sinks into the low lands of *Báltú Khele*, from *Killah Boland* to *Karáhichí*, is a line of artificial mounds ; on the summit of the eminence called *Abdullah Búrj* are also some extraordinary mounds, as before noted, and contiguous to the south is a large square described by alike surprising mounds ; on one side of this square, the last year, a portion sank or subsided, and disclosed that these mounds were formed or constructed of huge unburnt bricks, two spans square and one span in thickness. This circumstance also enabled me to ascertain that the original breadth of these stupendous walls, for such we must conclude them to have been, could not have been less than sixty feet ; probably much more. Among the mounds near *Killah Boland* is a large tumulus, probably a sepulchre, which appears to have been coated with thin squares of white marble ; and near it, in a hollow formed in the soil, is a large square stone, which the Muhammedans call *Sang-Rustam*, or the stone of *RUSTAM*, and which the Hindús, without knowing why, reverence so far as to pay occasional visits to it, light lamps, and daub it with *Sindúr* or red lead. In the Muhammedan burial ground of *Killah Boland* is a fragment of sculptured green stone, made to serve as the head-stone to a grave ; about four feet thereof is above ground, and we were told as much more was concealed below ; this is a relique of the ancient city, and we meet with another larger but plain green stone, applied to a similar purpose, in a burial ground called *Shahídan*, or the place of martyrs, under *Koh Butcher*. In a *Zeárat* at *Charikár* is also a fragment of sculptured green stone ; and it is remarkable that all the fragments of stone which we discover, and which we may suppose to have reference to the ancient city, are of the same species of colored stone. The traditions of the country assert the city of *Beghrám* to have been overwhelmed by some natural catastrophe, and while we vouch not for the fact, the entire demolition of the

place, with the fact of the outlines of buildings discoverable beneath the surface, seem not to discountenance the tradition. It is not however improbable that this city, like many others, may owe its destruction to the implacable rage of the barbarous and ruthless GENGHIZ, who like ATTILA described himself as the "*Ghazb Khudá*," or "Scourge of God." That it existed for some time after the Muhammedan invasion of these countries is evidenced by the numerous coins of the Caliphs found on its site. That it ceased to exist at the period of TIMU'R's expedition into India, we have negative proof furnished by his historian SHERIFUDDIN, who informs us, that TIMU'R, in his progress from *Anderab* to *Kábul*, encamped on the plain of *Baran* (the modern *Bayan*, certainly) and that while there, he directed a canal to be cut, which was called *Mahíghír*, by which means, the country, before desolate and unproductive, became fertile and full of gardens. The lands thus restored to cultivation, the conqueror apportioned among sundry of his followers. The canal of *Mahíghír* exists at this day, with the same name it received in the time of TIMU'R. A considerable village, about one mile west of *Beghrám*, has a similar appellation. This canal, derived from the river of *Ghorband*, at the point where it issues from the hills into the level country, irrigates the lands of *Báyán* and *Mahíghír*, and has a course of about ten miles. Had the city of *Beghrám* then existed, these lands immediately to the west of it, would not have been waste and neglected, neither would TIMU'R have found it necessary to cut his canal, as the city when existing must have been supplied with water from the same source, that is, from the river of *Ghorband*; and from the same point, that is, at its exit from the hills into the level country; and the canals supplying the city must have been directed through these very lands of *Báyán* and *Mahíghír*, which TIMU'R found waste and desolate. The courses of the ancient canals of *Beghrám* are now very evident, from the parallel lines of embankments still to be traced. The site of *Beghrám* has, to the north, the river formed by the junction of the *Ghorband* and *Panjshír* streams, and to the south, the river of *Koh Damán*; but neither of these rivers are applicable to the irrigation of the circumjacent soil, the former flowing in low lands, perhaps one hundred and fifty feet below the level of the plain, and the latter scantily furnished with water flowing in a sunken bed. It may be farther noted, with reference to TIMU'R's colonization of *Mahíghír*, that the inhabitants of the district of *Khwojeh Keddri*, while forgetful as to whom their forefathers owed their settlement in this country, acknowledge their *Turki* descent, and alone of all the inhabitants of the *Kohistán* speak the *Turki* language. We might expect to detect a notice of *Beghrám* in the Arabian records of the early caliphs, in the histories of the Ghaznavi emperors, and in those of GENGHIZ KHÁN.

That *Beghrám* was once a capital city is evidenced by its *tope*, a sepulchral monument of departed royalty; while a second, situated in *Tope Darah*, about nine miles west, may probably be referred to it, as may perhaps a third found at *Alisahí*, at the gorge of the valley of *Nijrow*, distant about 12 miles east. The appellation *Beghrám* must also be considered indicative of the pre-eminence of the city it characterizes; undoubtedly signifying the chief city or metropolis. About three miles east of *Kábul*, we have a village and extensive pasture retaining this name, which indicates the site of the capital in which *KADPHIS* and his lineage ruled, and whose *topes* we behold on the skirts of the neighbouring hills. Near *Jelálábád*, a spot called *Beghrám*, about a mile and half west of the present town, denotes the site of the ancient *Nysa*; or, if the position of that city admit of controversy, of *Nagara*; its successor in rank and consequence. Near *Pesháwar* we have a spot called *Beghrám*, pointing out the site of the original city; and that this epithet of eminence and distinction was continued, up to a recent date, to the city of *Pesháwer*, we learn from *BA'BER* and *ABUL FAZL*.

We have indications in the *Kohistán* of *Kábul* of two other ancient cities, which were undoubtedly considerable ones, but which we cannot suppose to have rivalled *Beghrám* in extent or importance. The principal of these is found in *Perwan*, about eight miles N. 19 W. of *Beghrám*, and consequently that distance nearer to the grand range of *Caucasus*, under whose inferior hills it is in fact situated. The second is found at *Korahtass*, a little east of the famed hill, and *Zeárat Khwojeh*, *Raig Ruwan*, distant from *Beghrám* about six miles N. 48 E. There are also many other spots in various parts of the *Kohistán* which exhibit sufficient evidences of their ancient population and importance; but these must be considered to have been towns, not cities. In the valley of *Panjshír* we have more considerable indications, and we are enabled to identify three very extensive sites of ancient cities; but which, from the character of the country, and the limited extent of its resources, we can hardly suppose to have flourished at the same epoch. In the *Koh Damán* of *Kábul*, or the country intervening between that city and the *Kohistán*, we discover two very important sites, which unquestionably refer to once capital cities: both occur in a direct line from *Beghrám* to *Kábul*, under the low hill ranges which bound *Koh Damán* to the east, and contiguously also east to the river of *Koh Damán*; the first commences about eight miles from *Beghrám*, and is known by the name of *Tartrung-Zar*; the second is about the same distance farther on, and has no particular name, but is east of the seignorial castles of *Luchú Khan*, and the village of *Korinder*: at this site we find a *tope*, an indubitable evidence of royalty, and connected with it is a stupendous

artificial mound on the west bank of the river, constructed with elaborate care: the base appears originally to have been surrounded with a magnificent trench, supplied by the stream with water. Here no doubt was some important structure, a palace or citadel. At this day the summit is crowned with dilapidated mud walls of modern construction, and the spot is known by the name of *Killah Rájput*. In the district of *Ghorband*, west of the great hill range, which radiating from the *Hindú Kosh*, or Caucasus, forms the western boundary of *Koh Damán*, we have very many important vestiges of antiquity, both in the principal valley and in its dependencies, particularly in one of them named *Fendúkistán*: we have reasons to believe that coins are found there in considerable numbers, and that there are some interesting mounds; but as we have not seen this spot, we refrain from speculating upon its character.

We have thus enumerated the principal ancient sites of cities in *Koh Damán* and *Kohistán*, both as shewing the former importance and illustrating the capabilities of these fine countries, and as exhibiting the fluctuations, in ancient times, of the seat of royalty in them. *Beghrám*, *Perwan*, *Tartrung-Zar*, and *Killah Rájput* have no doubt in succession been the abodes of sovereigns, as have most probably *Panjshér* and *Korahtass*. Our minuteness may moreover be excused, because in this part of the country we expect to detect the site of *Alexandria ad Caucasum*, or *ad calcem Caucasi*. It may be remarked, with reference to the sites of *Beghrám* and *Perwán*, that the former is called by the Hindús of the country '*Balrá*,' and is asserted by them to have been the residence of Rájá BAL; the latter they call *Milwán*, and assert to have been the capital of Rájá MILWAN. MILWAN may be a Hindú appellation, but it has been also assumed by Muhammedans.

We have it not in our power to consult the ancient authorities, who have noticed *Alexandria ad Caucasum*, or probably its site might have been definitely fixed; but when we know that it was also called *Naulábi* or *Nilábi*, from being situated on or near the river *Naulábi* or *Niláb*, we have no difficulty in seeking for its position, being acquainted with the geographical features of this part of Asia. The name *Nilábi* could only have been conferred on the river of *Ghorband*, or on that of *Panjshér*, or to both, after their confluence; in the latter event, we are brought to the site of *Beghrám* without the chance of error. The rivers of *Ghorband* and *Panjshér* unite at a spot called *Tokchí*, bearing north a little west of *Beghrám*, distant about a mile and half or two miles, and near the place called *Inchór*, which is inserted in the map accompanying the Honorable Mr. ELPHINSTONE'S work. *Inchór* is a solitary castle, picturesquely seated amid a large extent of fine *chaman* or pasture land. From its source the river of *Ghorband*, which is also that of *Bamíán*,

has a greater extent of course than that of *Panjshír*; but the latter is the more considerable stream. At the point where the river of *Panjshír* issues from the hills into the level country of the *Kohistán*, is a spot now called *Niláb*; also at the very site of *Beghrám* after its union with the *Ghorband* river, the united stream has the same name, in both instances derived from the great depth of the water, and its consequent limpid and blue appearance. In the valley of *Ghorband* is a spot called *Niláb*, which now by some contradiction is conferred upon the land adjacent to the river, and not upon the river itself. I incline to consider the river of *Ghorband* to be the *Nilábi* of our ancient authors, and if it be found that the *Naulábi* of PTOLEMY, STRABO, or PLINY, the writers who have probably mentioned it, be conducted by *Drapsaca* or *Drashtoca*, which may be concluded to be the modern *Bamíán*, we can have no doubt of the fact, and the merit of being considered the site of *Alexandria ad Caucasum*, or *ad calcem Caucasi*, can only be contested by two sites, that of *Niláb*, in the valley of *Ghorband*, and that of *Beghrám*. Near *Niláb*, in *Ghorband*, we find the remains of a most stupendous fortress; but however valuable as a military post, it does not seem calculated to have been the site of a large city. *Beghrám*, on the contrary, possesses every advantage of situation, and would in these days, if revived, bid fairer to realize its pristine prosperity, than any other site in these countries. With the term *Alexandria ad calcem Caucasi*, the situation of *Niláb* would precisely agree, and we learn also that the city so called was near the cave of PROMETHEUS. This appears to have been justly located by WILFORD, near the pass of *Shibr*; and we find at *Ferinjal*, a dependency of *Ghorband*, between it and *Bamíán*, or near *Shibr*, a most extraordinary cave, which we would fain believe to be that of PROMETHEUS. With the term *Alexandria ad Caucasum*, the site of *Beghrám* would sufficiently coincide; while its distance from the cave of *Ferinjal*, or that of PROMETHEUS, is not so great as to violate propriety in its being termed contiguous, while its propinquity to the base of Hindu Kosh, or Caucasus, would seem to justify its being entitled *Alexandria ad calcem Caucasi*. That ALEXANDER established not merely a military post, but founded a large city, we ascertain, when we learn from CURTIUS, that he peopled it with no less than seven thousand menials of his army, besides a number, of course considerable, but not mentioned, of his military followers, and are distinctly informed, that the city in question became a large and flourishing one. No doubt, if this part of Asia were to come under European control, the re-edification of *Beghrám* would be deemed a necessary measure, for a considerable city at this spot would not only provide for the due submission of the half-obedient

tribes of the *Kohistán*, but would secure the allegiance of those absolutely in rebellion or independence, as of *Panjshir*, *Nijrow*, *Taghow*, &c.

It is impossible to cast a retrospective view over the regions of *Afghánistán* and *Turkistán*, to behold the cities still in existence, and the sites of such as have yielded to the vicissitudes of fortune, which owe and owed their foundation to ALEXANDER THE GREAT, without paying the tribute of homage and admiration to his genius and foresight. Above twenty centuries have elapsed, since the hero of Macedon marched in his triumphant career from the shores of the Bosphorus to the banks of the Hyphasis, subjecting the intermediate nations, but rendering his conquests legitimate, by promoting the civilization and prosperity of the vanquished. A premature death permitted not posterity to wonder at the prodigy of an universal monarchy, which he alone of all mankind seemed talented to have erected and maintained. No conqueror had ever views so magnificent and enlightened, and none ever left behind him so many evidences of his fame. Of the numerous cities which he founded, many are at this day the capitals of the countries where they are found; and many of those no longer existing would assuredly be revived, were these parts of Asia under a government desirous to effect their amelioration. The selection of *Mittun* by the British Government of India for their mart on the Indus, while the most eligible spot that could have been chosen, was also a tribute of respect to the memory of the illustrious ALEXANDER; for there can be no doubt that *Mittun* indicates the site of the *Alexandria* that he founded at the junction of the united streams of the *Panjáb* with the Indus, and which he predicted, from the advantages of position, would become a large and flourishing city. It may be that *Mittun* under British auspices may realize the prophecy applied by the hero to his *Alexandria*.

To return from this digression to the question of the site of *Alexandria ad Caucasum* or *ad calcem Caucasi*, we can only refer it to two spots, *Niláb* in *Ghorband*, and *Beghrám*: I incline to prefer the latter, from the superiority of its local advantages, and from the certainty of its having been a large and flourishing city, as *Alexandria* is represented to have become. In favor of *Niláb* may perhaps be adduced the itinerary of *DIOGNETES* and *BÆTON*, the surveying officers of ALEXANDER, as preserved by *PLINY*. We there find the measured distance from the capital of *Arachosia* to *Ortospanum* stated to be 250 miles, and from *Ortospanum* to *Alexandria*, 50 miles. The capital of *Arachosia* was unquestionably in the vicinity of the modern *Kándahár*, and *Ortospanum*, although by some considered *Ghazni*, may safely be referred to *Kábul*, when we find in *PTOLEMY* that it was also called *Cabura*, the first approximation to the present name

Kábul, which we detect in our ancient geographers. The distance between the modern cities of *Kábul* and *Kándahár*, agreeably to admeasurements made under the *Chaghátai* Emperors of India, is ninety-two *Jeribi koss*, or nearly 210 British miles; the miles of *PLINY* are no doubt Roman ones, which were, I believe, a little less than our British statute ones: this slight difference will not however compensate for the excess in the distance fixed by *ALEXANDER*'s officers; but there are reasons to suspect that the ancient capital of Arachosia was situated some eighteen or twenty miles west of the modern *Kandahár*, at the base of a hill called *Panchvakí*, where traditions affirm a large city once flourished, and of which there is abundant proof in the huge mounds to be observed there. The ancient city of *Kábul*, which I infer to have been *Ortospanum*, was seated also some three or four miles east of the modern one; the distances here gained, with the difference between British and Roman miles on two hundred and fifty of the latter, (if they be, as above assumed, less,) will reconcile the measurements of the officers of *ALEXANDER* with those of the *Chaghátai* Emperors, and we can have little doubt but that *Ortospanum* is represented by the present *Kábul*. From *Kábul* to *Beghrám*, the distance is not certainly more than twenty-seven British miles; but from *Kábul* to *Niláb* of *Ghorband*, the distance is nearly, if not fully, fifty miles, coinciding with the account of *DIOGNETES* and *BÆTON*. It may however be observed, that different copies of *PLINY* have in this instance various numbers, so that we feel perplexed to select the genuine ones; fifty I believe to be the least mentioned, and I have calculated with it, supposing it the more probable one. The same itinerary gives the distance between *Alexandria ad Caucasum* and *Peucalaotis*, stated to be 227 Roman miles: this latter place has generally been located near the modern *Pesháwar*; from *Kábul* to *Pesháwar* are estimated 112 ordinary *koss*, which, calculated at one mile and half each, yield nearly 170 miles, *Beghrám* will be nearly equidistant from *Pesháwar* with *Kábul*, therefore the distance noted in the itinerary will coincide rather with the locality of *Niláb*, which may be about 30 British miles from *Beghrám*, and consequently 200 or more British miles from *Pesháwar*, equivalent perhaps to 227 Roman miles. But I do not feel confident that *Peucalaotis* has been justly referred to the site of *Pesháwar*. It appears to have been the name of a province, the capital of which was *Peucela*; in these terms we detect a considerable affinity to the modern appellation *Puekoli*, applied to a district with capital of the same name east of the *Indus*, and above *Attock*, which in ancient times included a considerable territory west of the *Indus*. It is not certain that *ALEXANDER* visited the immediate vicinity of *Pesháwar*, although *HEPHESTION* will have done

so; and it is probable that he crossed the *Indus* above *Attock*, or at a point in the modern district of *Puekoli*, perhaps the ancient *Peucolaotis*. A similarity of denomination may not always be depended upon, but when combined with other accordances, it becomes, as D'ANVILLE expresses it, "un moyen de convenance." I shall close my speculations on the site of *Beghrám*, by remarking, that ALEXANDER in his march from *Bactra* to *Alexandria ad Caucasum* will have arrived at it by the route of *Bamían* and *Shibr*, because ARRIAN informs us, that he passed *Drapsaca* on the road, which can hardly be mistaken for the former of those places. ALEXANDER crossed the *Hindú Kosh* or *Caucasus* in the month of May; when, supposing the seasons and climate of these countries to have been the same as at present, any other route over that mountain range was impracticable. The route from *Bamían* to *Ghorband* is passable to *káfilas* at all seasons of the year, and is no doubt the high road; but it has been closed during the last twenty-five years, by the insurrection of the *Shaikh Alí Hazárehs*, who inhabit the small extent of country between *Ghorband* and *Shibr*. The route of *Bamían* will have conducted ALEXANDER either to *Niláb* or *Beghrám*; and these observations would have been unnecessary, had it not been supposed by some that his starting place was *Anderáb*: this assumption does not however seem warranted, and if grounded on the route that TIMUR followed, it should have been recollected that the Tartar conqueror crossed the Indian *Caucasus* in the month of July.

It had been my intention this year to have secured every coin of every description that should be picked up from the *dust* of *Beghrám*, and this purpose would probably have been effected, had I not been compelled to be absent at *Jelálábád*. A young man was however despatched thither, with recommendatory letters to my friends in the *Kohistán*, and to him was confided the collection of all he might be able to procure. On my eventually reaching *Kábul*, the young man joined with 1320 coins, from the appearance of which it was evident he had selected, and not, as ordered, taken all that were offered. It also appeared, that in consequence of the distracted political state of the *Kohistán* in the spring, the *Afghán* pastoral families had not as usual visited the plains of *Beghrám* at an early season. In the autumn, moreover, from apprehensions of a rising in this part of the country, the *Afgháns* sent their flocks to the *Safí* hills, the persons tending which are the principal finders of these coins. Under these unfavorable circumstances, I twice repaired to *Beghrám*, and at various intervals despatched my young men, and the total result of our collection this year was five silver and 1900 copper coins. These are of course generally

of the same description and types as those illustrated in my Memoir of last year; but a few were procured of novel types, and a few altogether new, among which one or two may be deemed valuable. It is my object in this Memoir to detail these fresh discoveries, and to offer such remarks upon them, and the topics they involve, as may arise upon their consideration. My stay at *Jelálábád* was, during the season of the year, unfavorable for the collection of coins; yet, independently of those extracted from topes, were procured 248 copper coins, among which two or three are novel ones, to be noted in their place.

Subsequent to my arrival in *Kábul*, I purchased in the bazár there, six golden, 176 silver, and 142 copper coins: some of these are important ones. I had also the fortune to secure a large parcel of silver Bactrians, a deposit discovered in the *Hazárehját*: among these are coins of a type likely to excite some interest.

The coins extracted from the various topes opened this year, may also be deemed interesting, from the positive connection they have with the monuments enclosing them; and valuable, from their superior preservation, having in many instances been inserted new; and presenting specimens as perfect and intelligible as we may hope to procure.

I shall observe in this Memoir nearly the order adopted in my preceding one, with reference to classification and the succession of series, making however such modifications and distinctions as further discoveries seem to warrant.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

Class, Grecian Series, No. 1.—Coins of the recorded Kings of Bactria.

As during the last year, we are without any evidence of THEODOTUS I. and THEODOTUS II., the two first Bactrian kings; and that their sway was confined to Bactriana proper, or the regions north of the Indian Caucasus, is confirmed by the non-discovery of their coins at *Beghrám*. This fact can scarcely be doubted, when we have historical evidence, that a distinct and powerful kingdom existed, under SOPHAGASENUS, in the Paropamisan range, at the time of the expedition of ANTIOCHUS MAGNUS.

This year has yielded five copper coins of EUTHYDEMUS, the third Bactrian king; one was procured at *Jelálábád*; the four others from *Beghrám*: their discovery seems to prove the extension of this monarch's rule south of the Caucasus—a fact countenanced by probability, and the slight historical evidences we have of him. The solitary coin found at *Jelálábád* does not afford proof positive that EUTHYDEMUS governed there also, both because there is no certainty where coins purchased in bazárs were produced; and it is not impossible but that it may have found its way there from *Beghrám*, as the *Afghán* shepherds, resident on its plain during the summer, migrate to *Lughmán* and the vicinity of *Jelálábád*,

during the winter ; and the few coins they may bring with them, they disperse among the dealers in the small towns, as their trifling wants of oil, tobacco, &c. may induce them. EUTHYDEMUS being denominated of Magnesia, it may be questioned, in what manner he ascended the Bactrian throne, whether by the right of lawful succession, or of successful usurpation. At all events, he appears to have been a sovereign of great talents, worthy of his exalted rank.

Of APOLLODOTUS, besides a large number of copper coins, we have this year procured five silver quadrangular coins, the type varying from those already known.

Of the celebrated MENANDER, this season has afforded us some copper coins of novel types, and a large number of silver drachmas and hemidrachmas, presenting alike some varieties in the types : we found not one of this prince's coins at *Jelálábád*, where we indeed met with two of APOLLODOTUS, but decline to draw inferences from solitary specimens.

When we consider the coincidences observable on the coins of MENANDER and APOLLODOTUS, some of which have even the same figures on the reverses with the resemblance of their features ; and when we find them conjointly commemorated by ARRIAN and TROGUS, the only two ancient authors who have recorded the latter's name, we feel every inclination to conjecture that the ties of consanguinity must have connected them. As APOLLODOTUS is previously named by both these authorities, he may be supposed to have been the father, or perhaps elder brother, of MENANDER ; and that he preceded the latter in sovereignty would seem nearly certain, being borne out by every circumstance attending the coins we discover. That the reigns of both these princes was of considerable duration is evidenced by the numerous coins we find, and by the variety of types they exhibit, proving them to have been struck at different periods. The busts of APOLLODOTUS on the two or three coins hitherto found, which exhibit them, have an extremely youthful appearance ; and the portraits of MENANDER display the transition from youth to manhood. That APOLLODOTUS reigned in *Bactriana* proper, we doubt with BAYER, although his pretensions have been advocated by Colonel TOD. That he was the son of EUTHYDEMUS, we think certain, and that he was the father or elder brother of MENANDER, we think probable, and assuredly his predecessor ; that he governed in the provinces south of *Bactriana* is certain, and there, according to the suggestions of SCHLEGEL, I incline to locate his original kingdom and that of MENANDER ; that this kingdom may have included some of the provinces of *Bactriana Latiore*, or the regions immediately north of the *Caucasus*, is very probable, and would justify its monarchs' being styled kings of *Bactria* by their historians. How far this kingdom

extended eastward, we may not be able now to determine; but the non-discovery of the coins of APOLLODOTUS at *Jelálábád* (holding two or three specimens procured from bazárs, but found no one knows where, no exception to the remark) seems to prove that in his time an independent power must have existed there: this receives farther proof when we meet not there with the coins of his successor MENANDER, which abound so numerously at *Beghrám*. As APOLLODOTUS certainly invaded India, we may suppose him, without prejudice to the kingdom of Nysa, to have marched by the route of *Khouram*, *Bannú*, and *Multán* to the *Hyphasis*, on exactly the same route that was followed by TIMÚR; and in corroboration thereof, we find him brought to the *Hyphasis*, where he re-edified the city of *Sangála* under the name of *Euthydemia*. There can be little doubt but that *Sangála* owed its revival to APOLLODOTUS. That it sprang into new consideration under the auspices of a son of EUTHYDEMUS, can scarcely be questioned, and every circumstance seems to point out that son to have been APOLLODOTUS. The coin discovered by Dr. SWINEY, which bears the epithet *Philopater*, not a little confirms this fact. MENANDER, whether the son or brother of APOLLODOTUS, seems fairly entitled to be considered his successor. This prince followed up the Indian conquests, while he preserved his dominion in the provinces south of Bactriana; but these latter, on his decease, probably will have been assumed by EUCRATIDES the I., or the Great, king of Bactriana proper. MENANDER, we know, was interrupted in his warlike operation by death; but when, and where, is not recorded by history, which has been alike faithless to the actions of one of the most illustrious sovereigns that ever held a sceptre.

The coins of EUCRATIDES I., so numerously found at *Beghrám*, are not to be discovered at *Jelálábád* any more than those of APOLLODOTUS and MENANDER, considering always a single specimen no evidence that coins of that species were once current there, but rather that they were not: this circumstance farther substantiates the existence of an independent monarchy at Nysa, and that it was sufficiently powerful to maintain its integrity inviolate; for EUCRATIDES was no doubt a warlike and ambitious prince.

Before adverting farther to EUCRATIDES, we may be excused in offering two or three observations as to DEMETRIUS, a recorded son of EUTHYDEMUS, and employed by him in his negociations with ANTIOCHUS. If he stand simply recorded as a son, it neither proves that he was the elder son, although probable, or, that he was the only son. As it was probably by his means that EUTHYDEMUS subverted the kingdom of GAJ, in the Paropamisan range—an event which could not have occurred until the close of the reign of EUTHYDEMUS; as SOPHAGASENUS, the father

of GAJ, was his cotemporary at the period of the expedition of ANTI-
 OCHUS, we may suppose that DEMETRIUS retained the sovereignty of
 the countries he conquered, and extended his conquests in *Arachosia*,
 now thrown open to his arms. Accordingly, in a route of ISIDORUS of
 Charox the name of a city, *Demetrias* of *Arachosia*, occurs, which
 would seem referred with justice by SCHLEGEL to the son of EUTHY-
 DEMUS, and which points out the direction of his empire. Without
 power of reference to the route of ISIDORUS, in which the name *Deme-*
trias occurs, we may observe, should it be found in any of those
 from the western provinces, as *Ariana*, &c. to the eastern ones on the
 Indus, we should incline to place it in the valley of the *Turnek*, between
Kandahár and *Mokur*, in the country now inhabited by the *Thokí*
Gulzyes, where we have evidences that a powerful capital once existed,
 which may have been that of DEMETRIUS. The attack of DEMETRIUS,
 or his son, of the same name, upon EUCRATIDES may have arisen from
 the irksomeness naturally to be felt at the vicinity of a powerful and
 ambitious prince, who, by the extension of his empire, had sufficiently
 evinced his desire of aggrandizement. History, which records DEMETRIUS
 as the aggressor in this war, also records that EUCRATIDES had possessed
 himself of *Ariana*, and we find that he was also master of the regions
 south of the Indian Caucasus, thus pressing upon the confines of *Arachosia*
 at the two extreme points of east and west. Aggression on the point of
 DEMETRIUS may therefore have been a measure of necessity, or even of
 prudence, it being certainly more politic to aggress than to be reduced
 to repel aggression. It has not been our fortune to meet with a coin of
 DEMETRIUS, or to be acquainted with the type of that procured by Baron
 MYENDORFF at *Bokhárá*; but unless the reverse be decidedly Bactrian, a
 bust adorned with the skin of an elephant would not be sufficient evidence,
 in our estimation, to allow its appropriation to the son of EUTHYDEMUS.
 I have a letter from M. MARTIN HONIGBERGER, from *Bokhárá*, by which
 I learn that he has also procured there a coin of DEMETRIUS, but he
 has not described its character. It may be noted that these two coins of
 DEMETRIUS, the only ones, we believe, hitherto discovered*, have been
 elicited at *Bokhárá*. Among the coins obtained by M. HONIGBERGER
 at *Bokhárá*, and which he thought worthy of enumeration, probably
 as being both Greek and silver ones, are transcribed in his memorandum,

- 1 Vasileos Antiochu.
- 1 Vasileos Dimitriu.
- 1 Vasileos Megalu Hiokraksu.
- 3 Vasileos Euthidimu.
- 5 Eucratides.

* There is a beautiful little Demetrius in the Ventura collection; see vol IV.—ED.

As DEMETRIUS did not succeed his father in Bactriana proper, and reasons may be alledged for suspecting that APOLLODOTUS also did not, the question naturally arises, to whom are we to assign the empire of *Bactriana* in the interval between the demise of EUTHYDEMUS and the accession of EUCRATIDES—a space of fourteen years according to the table of SCHLEGEL. I have mentioned the discovery of a parcel of *Bactrian* drachmas and hemi-drachmas in the *Hazárehját*, which we purchased from a *Hindú* at *Charrukar*, who some three years since received them from a *Hazaureh*. I have not yet been able to ascertain the spot, or under what circumstances these coins were found. The parcel, 120 in number, comprised seven quadrangular silver coins of APOLLODOTUS, 108 silver coins of MENANDER, and five silver coins of ANTIMACHUS. The day preceding that on which this parcel of coins came into my possession, I received from the dushts of *Beghrám*, a silver coin of the same last-named prince, ANTIMACHUS. The beauty of the coins of ANTIMACHUS, the excellence of their execution and designs, with the purity of the Greek characters of the legend, allow us not to place this prince subsequent to EUCRATIDES, whose coins in these particulars they surpass. Among 5000 or more copper coins, procured from the dasht of *Beghrám*, we have not discovered one of ANTIMACHUS, and the detection of a single silver coin does not seem to afford evidence that he ruled there, when the absence of his copper coins seem to prove that he did not. Where then must he be placed? We feel the inclination to conjecture him to have been the son and successor of EUTHYDEMUS in Bactriana proper. The reverses on the coins of APOLLODOTUS and MENANDER are not strictly Bactrian, or in relative connection with those we discover on those of the undoubted kings of Bactriana, EUTHYDEMUS and EUCRATIDES; the horseman in charge on the reverses of those of ANTIMACHUS is so, and forms the link between the horse at speed on the coins of EUTHYDEMUS, and the two horsemen in charge on those of EUCRATIDES. The monograms on the coins of ANTIMACHUS coincide with some on the coins of MENANDER, and if we can suppose them to be numerical ones (which however I affirm not to be certain) suggest the opinion that they were cotemporaneous princes, it being possible both were deduced from a common era. We feel perplexed when we are only allowed by the table of SCHLEGEL, an interval of fourteen years, and when we have three princes who may claim to have reigned between EUTHYDEMUS and EUCRATIDES; it may however be suspected that the accession to sovereignty of the latter, unless historically fixed, is antedated ten years. No one of the very many coins of this prince we meet with, presents a monogram clearly numerical, which yields a higher number than 85; while the highest number

found is 108, as preserved on the silver didrachma in the Earl of Pembrooke's cabinet, noted by PINKERTON and indicating the close of his reign. Neither do the features of EUCRATIDES, as preserved on his coins, exhibit the striking variation of youth to manhood observed on those of MENANDER, and do not authorize us to allow so long a reign as 35 years. I incline to date his accession at the epoch 84, of the Bactrian æra, and to fix the duration of his reign to 25 years: thus gaining between it and the demise of EUTHYDEMUS an interval of twenty-four years; but even this increased interval does not suffice for the reigns of APOLLODOTUS, MENANDER, and ANTIMACHUS. Those of the two former, particularly of MENANDER, were certainly of some duration, as evidenced by their numerous coins of various types discovered. APOLLODOTUS, from the youthful bust displayed on his coins, may be inferred to have died young; but MENANDER, we think, must be allowed to have attained mature manhood, or the age of forty to forty-five years: while his numerous coins, shewing the traits of extreme youth, seem to attest his accession to sovereignty at an early period of his life, and consequently confirm the length of his reign. Many of the coins of both these princes have alphabetical monograms, which, if accepted as numeral ones, may assist us in our conjectures. On the copper coins of MENANDER we find HA or 81, which can only refer to the Bactrian æra. On the silver coin found by Colonel TOD, we find IΔ or 14, which can only refer to his individual reign. HB or 82 is also found on the coins of MENANDER, which brings us nearly to the number indicated by HE or 85, the lowest number to be found on the coins of EUCRATIDES. That this prince succeeded MENANDER in the government of the countries immediately south of the Caucasus appears unquestionable; but it was most likely by forcible assumption: for had he been the lawful successor of MENANDER, he was not of a character to have relinquished his Indian possessions, where it would appear almost certain he did not reign: these observations are necessary, because the adoption of a monogram by MENANDER, which may be supposed to indicate the Bactrian æra, might induce an opinion that he was the predecessor of EUCRATIDES in Bactriana proper; while other circumstances we have noted seem to prove that he was not, independently of the ambiguous nature of the monograms themselves. The age depicted on the busts of APOLLODOTUS, and on those of the early coins of MENANDER, seem so nearly to agree, that while we would fain consider the latter as the successor of the former, we can scarcely suppose him the son, and our alternative is to conjecture him the brother. If MENANDER be admitted to have reigned in Bactria, we fancy APOLLODOTUS must be also; and it may be granted that their joint reigns might conveniently fill the interval between EUTHYDEMUS and EUCRA-

TIDES of twenty-four years, if our calculation thereof be conceded; but when we find the principal scenes of the military operations of these princes were in India, joined with other circumstances, as well as the discovery of the coins of ANTIMACHUS, the probability appears to be that they ruled originally, as before advanced, in the regions immediately north and south of the Indian Caucasus. EUTHYDEMUS, a monarch of great capacity, would appear to have been fortunate in his sons, (possibly by various mothers, for polygamy was a vice, according to CURTIUS, that the Greeks adopted from the barbarians,) by whose means he extended his territories, and greatly increased the dignity of the Bactrian empire. It may be supposed that he apportioned his empire amongst his sons, allowing them to retain the countries they had individually subjected: thus we may account for the kingdom of DEMETRIUS in Arachosia; for that of APOLLODOTUS and MENANDER in Bactriana Latior and the regions south of the Caucasus; and we may perhaps be allowed to consider ANTIMACHUS as the eldest son and successor of his father in Bactriana proper. That this distribution of power was agreeable to the parties concerned, we may conjecture, when, in absence of direct information, there are grounds for belief that no war originated between them. The epoch of ANTIMACHUS cannot, we suspect, were only the excellence of his coins adduced, be dated posterior to that of EUCRATIDES; after whose death, the knowledge of Grecian arts and sciences may naturally be supposed to have declined: indeed the copper coins of EUCRATIDES himself, although a powerful monarch, exhibit a striking inferiority of execution, compared with those of EUTHYDEMUS, which the coins of ANTIMACHUS rival. We may suppose the reign of EUTHYDEMUS to have been the most brilliant of the Bactrian monarchy, or that in which the Grecian arts were most cultivated and flourishing.

I am not allowed to place ANTIMACHUS prior to APOLLODOTUS; for I have shewn how strong are the latter prince's claims to be considered the founder of *Euthydemia*, which, if admitted, decide him to have been the son of EUTHYDEMUS. Neither can we place him subsequent to MENANDER, because we have indubitable proof that EUCRATIDES, by some means or other, succeeded MENANDER, in the rule of the countries dependent on *Bactria ad Caucasum*: had ANTIMACHUS governed there, his coins would certainly have been found at *Beghrám*, with those of EUTHYDEMUS, who must have preceded him, and of EUCRATIDES, who must have followed him, and in common with those of APOLLODOTUS and MENANDER. Neither did he succeed MENANDER in the sovereignty of his Indian conquests; for then his coins would have exhibited Indian characters on the reverses, rather than Bactrian ones: there can be no doubt but that the coins of ANTIMACHUS are genuine Bactrians. Convinced that

ANTIMACHUS must have reigned posterior to EUTHYDEMUS, and anterior to EUCRATIDES, while he could neither have preceded APOLLODOTUS, nor succeeded MENANDER, we have no alternative but to place his reign between the two former princes, and to suppose him cotemporary with the two latter: thus nearly yielding decisive proof that he was the son and successor of EUTHYDEMUS in Bactriana proper.

To omit no circumstances likely to throw light upon the subjects under discussion, I advert to the nature and character of the deposit of Bactrian coins, which yielded five of ANTIMACHUS, seven of APOLLODOTUS, and 108 of MENANDER; for matters apparently trivial may sometimes furnish valuable hints. A person, from some motive or other, conceals a sum of money, the coins of which he will possess the larger number are those of the reigning prince; it is however easy to imagine that he may have a few of the prince who preceded in rule, and a few of any neighbouring or cotemporary sovereign. The person, who made the deposit thus preserved for us, we may presume, did so in the reign of MENANDER, which accounts for the notable proportion of that prince's coins; the few of APOLLODOTUS seem to point him out as the predecessor of MENANDER, and the fewer of ANTIMACHUS intimate, that he was a neighbouring and cotemporary prince. The length to which I have carried my observations on these coins, and the topics they involve, might justify my being taxed with prolixity, did they not relate to a subject so interesting and intricate as that of Bactrian history; and I shall conclude them by inserting a new table of the reigns and successions of the Bactrian sovereigns, agreeably to the suppositions, the probability of which I have advocated.

TABLE.

Theodotus I. established his sovereignty	B.C. 255, reigned 12 years....	I to 12 of Bactrian æra.
Theodotus II. began to reign	B.C. 243, reigned 23 years....	12 to 35 of do.
Euthydemus began to reign	B.C. 220, reigned 25 years....	35 to 60 of do.
Antimachus began to reign	B.C. 195, reigned 24 years....	60 to 84 of do.
Eucratides began to reign	B.C. 171, reigned 25 years....	84 to 109 of do.
Successor of Eucratides began to reign	B.C. 146, reigned years unknown, 109 to period unknown.	

Note.—The period B.C. 125, fixed for the destruction of the empire, liable to much distrust.

I continue to discover the coins of EUCRATIDES in the same numbers, but have met with none of new types. I have noted that this monarch's coins are not found east of *Kábul*, affording the presumption that his sway did not extend thither.

Among the coins collected this year, I have not discovered one by which we can identify the successor of EUCRATIDES; but among the new which may claim to be considered Bactrian, we have one with the classical name of DIOMEDES.

We are also without any trace of HELIOCLES, who would appear to have no claim to be introduced among the early Bactrian sovereigns;

but if the coin discovered of him be clearly Bactrian, which the reverse probably would decide, he may still be admitted his rank among the later sovereigns of the Bactrian dynasty, or among those arising from its destruction.

We have this year procured intelligible specimens, which enable me to decipher some of those left in doubt in my Memoir of last year; and have fallen upon two or three altogether new, from the characters on the reverse, might be considered Bactrian; at all events, they are Greek, and I submit my opinion on them in the succeeding observations.

With so many coins before us of princes who have more or less pretensions of being Bactrian sovereigns, we may feel tempted to doubt whether the Grecian authority in Bactriana was subverted by the Getæ at so early a period as that assigned, unless the fact be supported by the fullest historical evidence. It may be, the recorded subversion amounted to no more than a temporary inroad of barbarians, which may have indeed involved the loss of royalty in the family of EUCRATIDES, and its assumption by some fortunate leader, who repelled the invasion; the probability appears to be that the Greek power in Bactriana, in the first instance, weakened by the incursions of the Getæ and other Scythic tribes, was ultimately annihilated by the overgrown empire of Parthia. But a Greek authority must have existed to a much later period in the countries west of the Indus, which would appear to have been finally subverted by the Sákyan princes, who had established themselves in the regions east of the Indus. Without attaching extraordinary importance to the hyperbolic strains of a *Carmen Seculare*, we may observe, that HORACE, who flourished about the commencement of the Christian æra, enumerates among the objects of sufficient magnitude to engage the attention of AUGUSTUS, the Bactrian empire, which we would have to have been destroyed above 120 years before the time he wrote:—

“ Tu civitatem quis deceat status
Curas, et orbis sollicitus, times
Quid Seres, et regnata Cyro
Bactra parent, Tanaisque discors.”

Class Grecian—Series 2. Unrecorded Kings of Bactria.

I have thought proper to include in this general series all the coins, of whatever description, which may have Bactrian characters on the reverse legends. I by no means however wish to assert that all these princes ruled in Bactriana proper, perhaps no one of them did so. This series at present includes ANTIMACHUS, HERMÆUS I., II., III., DIOMEDES, ANTILAKIDES, AUSIUS*, ADELPHORTES, PALERKES, BASILIS†, ALOUOKENES, AZU I., II., DEMETRIUS, (?) and three other coins among the unidentified

* LYSIUS.—ED. † AZILISOS.—ED.

ones, or in all seventeen names: of these I am willing to transfer ANTIMACHUS to the regular Bactrian dynasty, HERMÆUS I., II., to the dynasty of APOLLODOTUS and MENANDER, and ADELPHORTES, BASILIS, and AZO, to a dynasty which I hope to prove, one day, to have existed distinctly at *Massaga*.

Class Grecian—Series 3. Coins of AGATHOCLES, PANTALEON, &c.

This year yielded me the same proportion of the coins of these princes, and I suspect we have found two other coins, which, with reference to the characters, may be classed with them, viz. Nos. 30 and 32 of the Greek coins now enumerated: if this be correct, we shall have five princes of this series.

Class Grecian—Series 4. Coins of the Nysæan Kings.

Of these kings we have the topes or cenotaphs at *Jelálábád*: there appear to have been two great families; that of HERMÆUS and his descendants, whose coins are distinguished by the figure of HERCULES, with his club on the reverse, and those of the princes, whose coins have a horseman on the obverse, and the figure of CERES on the reverse: to these must unquestionably be added the great king whose coins bear the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΓΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ, and I make no doubt UNADPHERROS: the latter family is the more ancient; and if our views are right, came originally from *Massaga*. There are thirteen topes certainly, perhaps fourteen, at *Jelálábád*, which may safely be referred to these princes; five or six to the family of HERMÆUS, and the remainder to that of the others; if three of these be not the topes of saints, rather than of kings: this I infer from their position on eminences, and the absence of coins with the relics found in them.

Note.—Of the prince whose coinage is delineated as fig. 37 in the last Memoir, I have procured many other coins: but none enabling me to identify his name: these coins, like the former, all from *Beghrám*.

Class Indo-Scythic—Series 1 and 2. Coins of KANERKOS and KADPHIS.

I have discovered that the topes of *Kábul* refer to the families of these princes, as do a number of topes near *Chahárbág*, or *Jelálábád*; but these latter I very much suspect to be duplicates of the former. This year has given us a number of golden medals of these princes, which are noted below.

I have not been yet enabled to locate the capital of the princes whose coins form the other series of this class.

Recapitulation of Greek coins collected from Beghrám, 1834.

Copper of Euthydemus,	3
Apollodotus,	31
Menander,	56
Eucratides,	92
Diomedes,	1
Adelphortes,	1

Various,	5	
Hermæus I,	31	
Hermæus II,	5	
Hercules type,	179	
Megas,	267	
Unadpherros,	16	
Antilakides, }	21	
Lysius, }		
Agathocles,	19	
Pantaleon,	2	
Leonine	23	
As fig. 37 of Memoir 1833,	14	
Small Nysæans,	24	
		Total, 790 Greek copper coins.
Silver coin (drachma) of Antimachus, ..	1	
		Total, 791 Greek coins.

ANALYSIS OF COINS.

[With the present memoir Mr. MASSON furnished drawings of all the coins here enumerated. Many of them however having been already figured in the plates published with our notes on the Ventura collection in June last, we have thought it unnecessary to lithograph the whole, and have consequently made selection of those only which are new types, or have more legible inscriptions than our own. The text, in justice to the author we, have inserted entire, merely substituting the word *No.* for *Fig.* and given a second reference to the plates where such as are new will be found.—ED.]

Series 1st.—Recorded Kings of Bactria.

Euthydemus.

No. 1. Obverse.—Bearded bust. [*Pl. II. fig. 1.*]

Reverse.—Horse at speed. Legend Greek ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ.

No. 2. Obverse.—Bearded bust. (*Fig. 2.*)

Reverse.—Not represented, same as preceding figure.

No. 1. is one of three coins of the same type, two procured from *Beghrám*, and one from *Jelálábád*. These are the curious coins with a concave obverse, which were noted in my last Memoir of last year, having then one unrecognizable specimen from *Beghrám*. The first intelligible specimen was obtained at *Jelálábád*, on which I was delighted to find the name of EUTHYDEMUS. *Fig. 2* is a single specimen from *Beghrám*, the obverse not concave.

Apollodotus.

Nos. 3, 4, and 5. Obverses.—Figure of Elephant. Legend Greek ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΞΩΤΗΡΟΥ. (*Fig. 3; see vol. iv. Pl. XXVI. fig. 5.*)

Reverses.—Figure of Brahminical Cow. Legend Bactrian.

These Figures represent the types found among seven silver coins of APOLLODOTUS, comprised in a parcel of 121 Bactrian silver coins, purchased from an individual at *Kábul*, but discovered in the *Hazaurehját*. These coins essentially agree, the monograms only varying.

This year's researches has elicited a circular copper coin of this prince, but not represented, being of similar type with his quadrangular coins.

Menander.

No. 6. (Fig. 4.) *Obverse*.—Bust, the head bound with fillet or diadem. Legend Greek ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Reverse.—Warrior, standing to left; right hand upraised, holding a bundle of darts; left hand holding forth an embossed shield. Monogrammatical characters on either side of the feet. Legend Bactrian.

This fine silver coin was purchased at *Kábul*.

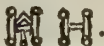
Nos. 7 to 11. (Figs. 6, 8.) *Obverses*.—Busts. Legends as preceding.

Reverses.—As in preceding Figure. Legend Bactrian.

These types are selected from 110 silver coins of this prince procured this year, one received as a present in *Kábul*, one procured at *Beghrám*, and 108 procured with the seven of APOLLODOTUS just noted. These coins essentially agree, varying principally in the head-dress and position of the busts, and in the position of the figures on the reverses. Figs. 9 and 10 are distinguished by the spear or javelin in the right hand, and the nakedness of the bust: the monogrammatical characters on these coins vary much, and it is remarkable that scarcely any two of the 108 coins found in one parcel appear to have been struck with the same die, the differences in them, however slight, being conclusive as to that fact; it may farther be observed, that copper coins of MENANDER are to be found, exhibiting all the types and monogrammatical characters to be found on these silver ones.


No. 12. (Fig. 5.) *Obverse*.—Bust. Legend Greek, as preceding figs.

Reverse.—Fish. (Dolphin?) Legend Bactrian.

This fine copper coin was procured from *Beghrám*, the monogrammatical characters .

No. 13. (Fig. 7.) *Obverse*.—Wheel or emblematical figure. Legend Greek, as preceding figs.

Reverse.—Palm branch. Legend Bactrian.


This small copper coin, a single specimen was procured from *Beghrám*, the monogrammatical characters  are to be found on the silver coins noted above, as fig. 8.

Class Grecian—Series 2. Unrecorded Kings of Bactria.

Antimachus.

No. 14. (Fig. 9.) *Obverse*.—Helmeted and winged female (Victory?) standing to the left, holding in extended right hand a palm branch. Legend Greek ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ. (See vol. iv. Pl. XXI. fig. 3.)

Reverse.—Mounted warrior at speed. Legend Bactrian.

This fine silver coin is one of six silver coins of similar type and size procured this year, one from *Beghrám*, and five in the same parcel as the 108 of MENANDER and seven of APOLLODOTUS before noticed. The monogram  on the obverse, is also to be met with on the coins of MENANDER; as fig. 9 of these plates. Were this monogram interpretable, we should have no difficulty in definitely appropriating these coins.

Hermæus.

No. 15. *Obverse*.—Bust, head bound with fillet and diadem. Legend Greek ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ. (See vol. iv. Pl. XXIV.)

Reverse.—Figure of JUPITER enthroned. Legend Bactrian.

No. 16. (Fig. 11.) *Obverse*.—Bust, head bound with fillet or diadem. Legend Greek, as preceding figure.

Reverse.—Figure of JUPITER enthroned, with eagle or bird of Jove perched on extended right hand. Legend Bactrian.

These two fine silver coins were purchased at *Kábul*. I have to apologize for having in my memoir of last year, asserted an opinion that HERMÆUS was the founder of the Greek Nysæan dynasty of kings; although it is certain that he ruled there, (that is at Nysa,) and even more easterly, as is evidenced by his numerous coins found both at Jelálábád and Pesháwar. The Bactrian characters on the reverses of this prince's coins, were not then noted with the attention they ought to have been. And the discovery since of two of his silver coins, (those now delineated,) and a single copper coin corresponding to *No. 15*, compel us to form other ideas of this prince, and authorize us to consider him, at least for the present, as one of the regular Bactrian dynasty. The enthroned figure on the reverse of *No. 16*, with the bird of Jove seated on the hand, we presume, admits not a doubt, that the figure itself is intended to represent JUPITER; and the similar figures on the reverses of the copper coins of this prince, although not manifestly exhibiting the eagle, may be supposed to personify the same deity, and not HERCULES as before imagined. It seems probable, that the figures on the reverses of the silver coins of EUTHYDEMUS may be intended to indicate JUPITER. The copper coins, we had previously found, of HERMÆUS, have very pointed features, and pourtray a prince considerably advanced in years—the two silver coins now before us, with the single copper coin discovered this year, exhibit the features of youth, and justify us in concluding that his reign commenced when he was young, as the great proportion of the copper coins justify the conclusion, that it terminated at an advanced period of his life. We may fairly allow to this prince a reign of twenty-four or twenty-five years, a term which would accurately fill up the period between the demise of EUTHYDEMUS and the succession of EUCRATIDES, or, of that, from the demise of EUCRATIDES, to the alleged destruction of the Bactrian empire by the GETÆ; but a consideration of the general style of the execution of the coins of HERMÆUS, (although the two coins now under notice are beautiful ones, especially *No. 16*,) will scarcely allow us to intrude him as the successor of EUTHYDEMUS: it is fair, however, to observe, that the coins of the two princes bear the same figures on the reverses, and that the forms of both are circular. Neither are we willing to admit him to have been the successor of EUCRATIDES, for he would appear to have enjoyed a large reign, which we hardly suppose a prince who was alike a parricide would have done. It would be gratifying to detect the successor of EUCRATIDES in Bactriana proper, and amongst the whole of the coins discovered at Beghrám, holding their execution as the token of their precedence or antiquity, we find none which have equal pretensions with those of HERMÆUS: but this only proves, that he succeeded to his authority in the Caucasian provinces, and this is what we suspect to have been the case; for when we observe his superior silver coinage, when we are satisfied that his reign was long, and that his dominions extended to the Indus, or beyond that of EUCRATIDES, we repeat we can scarcely believe this powerful prince, and (if we judge from his portrait) beneficent one, to have been the parricide of his father, or him who was vanquished by the GETÆ. The silver coin (*No. 16*), exhibits a strong resemblance to the silver coin of MENANDER, (*No. 6*), as does the bust in form and features; the legend is also similarly arranged. These circumstances may perhaps sanction an inquiry, whether HERMÆUS may not have been the son and successor of MENANDER, depriv-

ed of his Caucasian provinces by EUCRATIDES on the death of his father, and recovering them after the murder of this prince, during the anarchy that then naturally prevailed. It is however more probable, as we have before hinted, that EUCRATIDES committed this act of aggression when MENANDER was still living, and this seems corroborated by all the coins of HERMÆUS found at Beghrám displaying an aged prince, while the coins before us prove, that he also ruled when young; whence we infer, that he must originally have reigned elsewhere, and as we find that his coins are met with very far eastward, we may presume that his original seat of empire was in that quarter, and that from thence he marched to the Caucasus, when the death of EUCRATIDES allowed him the opportunity: and in confirmation of which we find, that the Beghrám coins of this prince refer to the latter part of his reign. The proportion of his copper coins found at Beghrám, may also guide us in our estimate of the duration of his reign there. EUCRATIDES, we suppose, reigned 24 years; in 1833, we found 70 of his coins, and in 1834, 92, or 162 for 2 years; in 1833, we found of the coins of HERMÆUS 34, and in 1834, 31, or 65 for 2 years. Now by the common rule of three process, if 162 yield 24, 65 will yield 9½, say 10 years for the reign of HERMÆUS at Beghrám: but we find that he must have reigned much longer somewhere else, which seems to verify the inferences we have before drawn; and as, we hope, in ANTIMACHUS we have found a son and successor for EUTHYDEMUS, so we hope that in HERMÆUS we have discovered the son and successor of MENANDER. The difference in the execution of the coins of this prince and of other Bactrian kings, as well as the striking diversity in the purity of the Greek characters, may perhaps be accounted for by supposing, that the better coins are those struck at the metropolitan mints, where Greek artists would be found, and that the inferior ones were struck at provincial mints, where, if Greek artists were not to be procured, the more expert native ones would be employed. We have discussed at some length the merits of the coins of HERMÆUS, but let us mislead no one; on subjects so difficult as these Bactrian coins, much is still left to conjecture, and at present, little more can be done than to expose the difficulties that attend them.

Diomedes.


No. 17. (*Fig. 10.*) *Obverse.*—Two erect figures, standing to the front, right hands holding spears, swords by the side. Legend Greek ΙΑΕΝΣ.ΝΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥ.

Reverse.—Humped cow. Legend Bactrian.

This is the type of a single quadrangular copper coin procured this year from Beghrám, fortunately presenting without doubt in the legend, the nomen and cognomen. DIOMEDES SOTER. The monogram on the reverse [A]; is also found on the coins of ANTIMACHUS and APOLLODOTUS.

Antilakides.

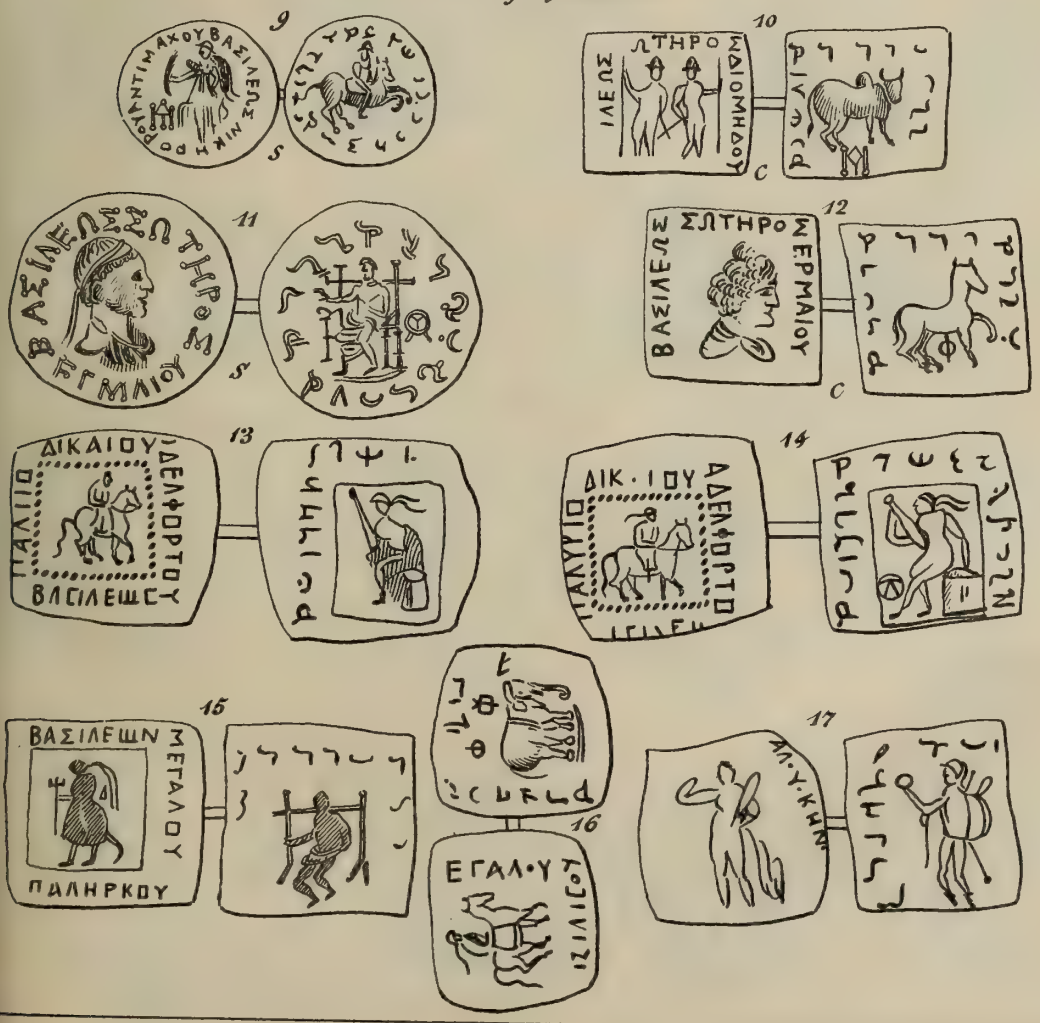
No. 18. *Obverse.*—Bust, the hair of the head behind, bound into a kind of pod resembling a bag-wig. Legend Greek, obscure, but undoubtedly ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΛΑΚΙΔΟΥ. (*See vol. iv. Pl. XXVI. fig. 10.*)

Reverse.—Two conical emblems, with two palm branches fixed between them. Legend Bactrian. This is a single specimen, (as to the circular form of the coin,) procured this year from Beghrám. The coin no doubt refers to the same prince whose coins are delineated in figs. 13 and 14, of Series 2, Class Grecian, of my last year's memoir. The features of the prince on this coin are much younger than those marked on the quadrangular coins, and the monogram varies, being .

Grecian Coins - Recorded Kings of Bactria.

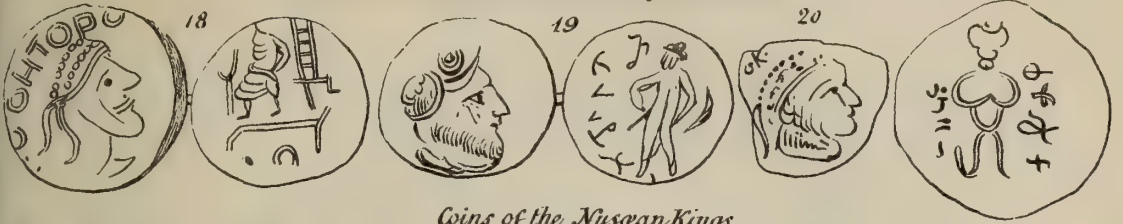


Unrecorded Kings of Bactria



Grecian Coins. Unrecorded Kings of Bactria.

21



Coins of the Nysæan Kings



Indo-Scythic



Sassanian Coins



